1:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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by the Arabs and Bemba, built their huts within a stockade.[1] According to Thomson, the Nyakyusa were unaware even of the existence of Lake Tanganyika in 1879 and their more distant eastern neighbours, the Pangwa, Bena, and Hehe had no communication with them.[2]

Unlike the Nyakyusa, the people of Ngonde were trading with the coast long before the arrival of the Europeans, a fact which had a profound effect on their political institutions;[3] but even they did not suffer from the attacks of slavers until *after* Europeans were established in Karonga.

From the point of view of the Nyakyusa-Ngonde people the Europeans came just in time. It was the establishment of British control in Nyasaland which prevented the complete destruction of the people of Ngonde by the slavers, and it is likely that the Nyakyusa also were saved by European intervention, for the raids of Arab slavers and their Sangu allies were becoming serious in Kukwe country in 1889[4] before the German annexation.

The first Europeans known to have sighted Nyakyusa country were a party from the Livingstonia mission (then established at the south of Lake Nyasa) who circumnavigated the Lake in the mission steamer, the *Ilala*, in 1875. They anchored off the north shore but did not land.[5] Two years later, the same steamer sailed by two famous missionaries, Dr. Stewart (of Lovedale) and Dr. Laws (of Livingstonia), landed Frederick Elton, H.B.M. Consul at Mozambique, and a party near the Mbaka mouth.[6] Elton and his party travelled through Selya and Kukwe country to the fort of the Sangu chief, Merere, and thence started for the coast. Elton died on the road, but some of the others got through.[7] In 1879 Joseph Thomson (aged 20), alone with his carriers, travelled through Hehe and Bena country, crossed the Livingstone moun-

[1] D. Kerr-Cross, 'Geographical Notes on the Country between Lakes Nyassa, Rukwa, and Tanganyika', *The Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Vol. VI (1890), pp. 286–7; Fotheringham, op. cit., pp. 13–5; 269.

[2] Thomson, op. cit., pp. 248, 276.

[3] Godfrey Wilson, op. cit., *passim*.

[4] Fotheringham, op. cit., pp. 238–41, 288. The Sangu had previously been occupied in a prolonged war with the Hehe. cf. Elton, op. cit., p. 374; Thomson, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 229–34.

[5] E. D. Young, 'On a recent Sojourn at Lake Nyassa', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, Vol. XXI (1877), pp. 230–1.

[6] J. Stewart, 'The Second Circumnavigation of Lake Nyassa', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1879, pp. 289–304.

[7] Elton, op. cit., pp. 318–44; Cotterill, op. cit.

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recognized over 100 chiefdoms, mustering anything from 100 to 3,000 adult men apiece.

Although no centralized political authority existed before the German occupation, certain groups of chiefdoms joined in common rituals directed to common ancestors. We traced four such centres of worship among the Nyakyusa; the most important being Lubaga, in the middle of the valley, where Kinga priests (from the top of the Livingstone mountains) join with many Nyakyusa chiefdoms in sacrifice to Lwembe, who is claimed as the ancestor both of the chiefs of the Nyakyusa proper, and of the Kinga. At LiKyala, on the Lake-shore plain, Kinga also join in sacrifice with the surrounding Nyakyusa chiefdoms. In Ngonde the chief connected with a similar centre of worship, Mbande, developed far-reaching secular as well as religious powers; and by the time the Europeans arrived he was established as a paramount chief with the title of the Kyungu. This development was directly connected with the fact that Ngonde traded with the outside world, and that their Kyungu, through his control of ivory, was able also to control the guns and cloth which came into the country:[1] the Nyakyusa, remaining isolated, remained politically disunited.

Besides sacrificing to a distant ancestor in company with the representatives of a large group of chiefdoms, two or more chiefs who are neighbours participate in a sacrifice at the grove in which their common father, or grandfather, is buried. Thus common worship links both large groups of chiefdoms, whose chiefs are more or less distantly related, and small groups of contiguous chiefdoms whose chiefs are close kinsmen. The sacrifices made are to the chiefs of immediately preceding generations, and to certain great heroes of the distant past, such as Lwembe and Kyala.

All these sacrifices are believed to bring rain and fertility, for the well-being of each chiefdom is thought to be bound up with the health of the chief and the goodwill of his ancestors.

The Nyakyusa are all agreed that their chiefs, *abanyafyale*, are 'strangers' who came down from the Livingstone mountains eight or ten generations ago, and found the valley already occupied by people who had no knowledge of fire, but ate their food raw. The chiefs brought fire with them—some say, cattle also;

[1] Godfrey Wilson, op. cit., pp. 9, 39–48.

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ship among the women themselves is, moreover, less developed than in many other African societies.

The isolation and self-sufficiency of the Nyakyusa are diminishing rapidly, for considerable economic and political development followed the 1914–18 war. Coffee (first introduced by the German missionaries) has been developed as a native crop for export, and the cultivation of rice (which had been fostered by the British to provide food for their troops) has expanded. Gold-digging began some fifty miles beyond the borders of the Nyakyusa country, on the Lupa river, and there Nyakyusa men have found both employment as labourers and a ready market for much of their produce, so that by 1936 Rungwe district was exporting goods worth £24,000 annually.[1] In addition to this peasant production there are a small number of European estates producing coffee and tea for export.[2] We estimate the number of Nyakyusa working outside the district as migrant labourers at about 8,000 or 25 per cent of the able-bodied men. There were about 7,000 Nyakyusa men on the Lupa gold-fields in 1937,[3] and a small number on the coffee plantations of Mbozi. These are all within a hundred miles of home; and the Lupa labourers return usually after two or three months' work. A considerable number of Nyakyusa are also at work on the sisal plantations of the coast, and employed as domestic servants or in other semi-skilled jobs through Tanganyika, who remain away for periods up to two or three years. Nyakyusa labourers are regarded by European employers as intelligent and capable of heavy work, but lacking in all the subservient virtues.

The system of Indirect Rule was established in 1926, and a consistent attempt has been made to develop a centralized Native Authority for the Rungwe district. The traditionally sovereign chiefs of the Nyakyusa have been grouped in eleven court districts with one chief as president of the Native Court in each (see Map III); these eleven chiefs, together with the two presidents of the Ndali and Lambya courts, belong to a single federation, with an appeal court and joint Native treasury of its own. In the eleven Native Courts (which are courts of record) most of the

[1] Figure estimated on the basis of information supplied by the courtesy of the Agricultural Officer, Tukuyu.

[2] In 1938 the total area alienated was 26,0[illegible] ac.; only 2,200 ac. of this was being worked.

[3] Estimate of the Labour Officer on the Lupa, 4 June 1937.

[Missing on the original – Analyst]

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fashioned iron hoes for cultivation and spears for hunting and war; they also made the cow-bells with which rich men loved to decorate their cattle. Doctors were equally important, for the medicines supplied by them were believed to influence health, fertility, and success in every undertaking. Neither smiths nor doctors served only their own home villages—the number of smiths was much smaller than the number of villages—and doctors living at a distance were generally preferred to those living near by. The need for iron goods and for medicines therefore took men out of their own villages and made links with other villages, often in other chiefdoms. Some at least of the iron ore which the smiths smelted was obtained from the distant Kinga mountains outside the Nyakyusa area all together (*vide supra*, p. 7), and many medicines came from the Kinga or Sangu. *Umwafi* for the poison ordeal was bought from Ngonde. Three other commodities also came from far—these were salt, which Kinga bought from Bena country and sold to the Nyakyusa; a red root (*ikipimba*) used as a dye and cosmetic, bought by the Mahasi from the Sangu and sold to the Nyakyusa; and brass or copper wire for making body rings (*amanyeta*).[1] There was scarcely any cloth in the country when the Europeans first arrived.[2] Pots were sold throughout the Lake-shore plain by the Kisi—Thomson found the Kisi pot-market operating in 1879[3]—and in the hills by Penja specialists. The details of this trade will be discussed when we come to consider the wider relations of the Nyakyusa: here we are only concerned to show that though villagers were dependent on outsiders for a little iron and salt, together with some medicines and ornaments, the bulk of the trade remained very small—salt and iron were extremely scarce—and economic relations beyond the village and kinship group were tenuous.

[1] We do not know by what route the wire came in: it is possible that it was as scarce as cloth before the first contact with Europeans. Elton speaks of spear shafts 'beautifully inlaid with a delicate tracery of brass and copper wire' (op. cit., p. 323), but the first reference we have traced to *amanyeta* in Nyakyusa country is in D. Kerr-Cross 'Crater-lakes north of Lake Nyasa', *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. V (1895), p. 118, his observation having been made in 1893. At that time he says 'you could buy anything for brass wire'. c.f. Moir, op. cit., p. 89. Fotheringham (op. cit., p. 27) says that the brass wire used in Ngonde (before 1889) was imported from Britain.

[2] Elton, op. cit., pp. 316, 320, 322, 331; Thomson, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 268, 274.

[3] Thomson, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 263. The market was at Pupanganda, at the N.E. corner of the Lake, on the narrow strip of land between the escarpment of the Livingstones and the water.

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439 The modern position is quite different. Each village still produces almost all its own food, but very considerable quantities of clothing, metal utensils, and tools are imported, in addition to salt, medicines, and ornaments. All the men and some of the women wear cloth. Every man possesses at least one loin-cloth, [651] a hoe, and an axe, and he must pay an annual tax of 12s. with an additional 2s. for every wife after the first. These essential expenses are met by the sale of produce and labour. Rungwe district is one of the main sources of food for the nearby Lupa gold-fields, while its native-grown coffee is sold on the London market. In 1936 produce to the value of some £24,000[1] was sold from Rungwe district to the outside world, and considerable quantities of produce were also sold within the district to Government officials, missionaries, traders, and their servants. At the same time an exchange of different types of produce, particularly of rice from the plains for ground-nuts from the hills, is developing, and markets flourish at several centres.

441 Trade is in the hands of Indians and Swahili settled in the Government station, Tukuyu, the military station, Masoko, and 443 the Lake-shore port, Mwaya. These traders employ Nyakyusa agents on a commission basis, to sell their goods and bring in produce; and there are many small shops scattered through the district, where commercially-minded Nyakyusa sell cloth, salt, paraffin, matches, hoes, knives, tin dishes, padlocks, soap, and cigarettes; and buy produce. But the shop is not a village centre. In the first place, one shop usually serves several villages; in the second, dependence on trade-goods is not yet so great that shopping close at hand is a necessary convenience, and when a purchase is to be made the buyer often prefers to go to one of the three main trading centres where his choice is greater. There was no sign of a Nyakyusa shop serving as a meeting-place for a village or a group of villages, as does the trading store of the Transkei.[2] Tukuyu market is indeed a social centre but it attracts custom from all over Rungwe district, not merely from one village or group of villages. Trading thus draws men outside their village; it does not nourish relationships within the village.

445 Employment for wages is the second means of meeting essential expenses, and we estimated that in 1936 approximately

[1] *Vide supra*, p. 16.
[2] Monica Hunter, *Reaction to Conquest*, p. 356.

4: Tew E-4 (no date) 1950 FN17 Ngonde FN17

231 according to the *Bell Report*. Cattle and hides are exported to Tanganyika.[1] The *Nyamwanga* herds were reduced, partly by Bemba raids, and partly by rinderpest.[2]

Domestic Architecture

341 361 *Ngonde* homesteads are famous in Nyasaland for their peculiar style and neatness of execution. They are made of bamboos, specially grown for the purpose. They are oblong, with the ends slightly tapering upwards so that they present a ship-like appearance. The huts are erected in two lines facing each other, at a distance of about 30 yards. This centre street is kept scrupulously clean.[3] The *Nyakusa* live in round or long huts of bamboo or grass.[4] *Kinga* homesteads are scattered; they live in round huts of bamboo and straw.[5] The *Iwa* formerly lived in large stockaded villages, but these are now broken up.[6]

Specialization and Trade

326 The Ngonde were accomplished iron-workers; iron was dug, smelted, and made into hoes and spears.[7] The Iwa were formerly noted as iron-workers. Both they and the Nyamwanga grow tobacco on a large scale.[8]

286 601 226 A rough kind of cloth was made on native looms. The Ngonde made hollowed canoes, but were not good sailors. In fishing they used poison, hooks, nets, and traps. Pottery and basket-making were carried on.[9]

[77] 439 643 The Ngonde were the most civilized of this cluster of tribes, owing to their closer contact with Arab and Swahili traders who used the lake as a waterway.[10] The Nyamwanga also had opportunities of contact with Arab and Swahili traders at the south end of Lake Tanganyika,[11] but information about the effect of this on their economic life is lacking. By comparison with the Ngonde the Nyakyusa were isolated from contact with the outside world,[12] and this is probably true of the other tribes of the group. Among the Ngonde, in spite of the political hierarchy and central religious authority of Kyungu, economic links between separate local groups were few. The ivory trade was a source of wealth for the Kyungu and for the nobles of Ngonde at Mbande, but its benefits had a strictly limited effect on the rest of the people. The economic links between the capital and the chiefdoms followed the lines of the political system. The income of Kyungu in slaves and cattle depended on the judicial process and on warfare. He had a semi-monopoly of the ivory of the country (the right tusk of every elephant killed was his). His expenditure consisted of entertainment for all important visitors to the capital, and gifts of cloths, obtained through the ivory trade, to nobles and chiefs. The first Kyungu gave head-cloths to the indigenous rulers, who, in accepting them, accepted his overlordship, and the practice was continued every time a new chief or territorial noble succeeded to office. The nobles of Ngonde got cloths every time the Arab traders came. Chiefs bringing food to Mbande, the capital, were

[1] *Bell Report*, pp. 100–3; Aplin, 1931.
[2] Gouldsbury and Sheane, 1911, p. 12.
[3] Kerr-Cross, 1894; Murray, 1932, pp. 210–11.
[4] *Handbook of German East Africa*, p. 68.
[5] Ibid., p. 64.
[6] Gouldsbury and Sheane, 1911, p. 12.
[7] Mackenzie, 1925, pp. 146–8; Kerr-Cross, 1894, p. 189.
[8] Gouldsbury and Sheane, 1911, p. 12.
[9] Mackenzie, 1925, pp. 146, 149, 151–2.
[10] Wilson, 5, 1939, p. 44.
[11] Ibid., 3, 1938, p. 15.
[12] Coxhead, 1914, p. 44.

4: Tew E-4 (no date) 1950 FN17 Ngonde FN17

439 643 given a slave or cow in return. Those who performed hoeing service, *milasa*, were entertained with food and beer.

622 437 The ivory trade, although it bound the local rulers to the capital, involved no tribal organization of elephant hunts, and scarcely touched the common people, who never obtained the imported cloths exchanged for ivory, but continued to dress in bark-cloth or in their coarse home-woven cloth. Between each chief and his people economic links were determined on the one hand by his power of requisitioning food, and his greater wealth derived from the higher bride-price given for his daughters, and on the other by his people's expectation of entertainment from nim in return for their food. Economic links between local chiefdoms were tenuous. Subsistence agriculture was practised by each family with the help of village neighbours and a few friends and kin; marriage with its economic exchanges was usually within the chiefdom. Of the few specialized craftsmen, representatives of each were usually found in each local group.[1]

439 433 Under modern economic conditions, Ngonde country is the only part of north Nyasaland which cannot be called the 'Dead North', and does not suffer from excessive migration. The soil is fertile and at present there is no land shortage, though there is likelihood of one developing in the near future. Food is cultivated for export to the Lupa goldfields in Tanganyika, which is the natural market for Ngonde produce. Rice, cattle, and hides are also exported there. Parts of the lake littoral are suitable for cotton cultivation, which was revived in 1934. Ninety tons were sold in 1936. Out of the total effective male population of 12,000, 3,000 grow 'economic crops', and 7,000 grow cash crops only.[2] There are two European coffee estates in the Misuku hills, but they are handicapped by the long dry season.[3] Money is also derived from the fishing industry. An attempt to develop a ghee industry from native butter for sale to Indians in Nyasaland collapsed owing to the apathy of the Ngonde, their neglect of quality, and their insistence on too high a price for their inferior product. The main cash income of the district is derived from emigration to the Lupa goldfields, so that 90 per cent. of the money in circulation in the district is East African currency, which is accepted by the Nyasaland local government, surplus balances being remitted to the District Officer at Tukuyu, Tanganyika.[4]

Periodic Migrations

167 Long-distance labour migration is not a serious problem among the Ngonde, as they are able to earn their main cash income by working in the nearby Lupa goldfields, or by supplying that market with agricultural produce. In north Nyasa district (Ngonde), of 12,052 adult males fit to work for wages, only 11·6 per cent. are labour emigrants, and of these in 1937 only 100 were counted as 'lost ones' (i.e. not heard of since 1930).[5] In Abercorn and Kasama districts, Northern Rhodesia, where the Nyamwanga and Iwa live, 50 per cent. of the able-bodied male adult population is absent.[6]

A local migration of Nyakyusa does constitute a problem for the Tanganyika administration. Up to 1935 some 2,000 families had migrated from Rungwe district to tribal lands in the neighbouring chiefdoms of Mbeya district. By 1941 the figure had increased to 3,000. The immigrants now total 17 per cent. of the whole population

[1] Wilson, 5, 1939, pp. 39–50.
[2] Murray, 1932, p. 206.
[3] *Bell Report*, 1938, Appendix A.
[4] *Bell Report*, 1938, pp. 100–3.
[5] Smith, 1937, p. 21.
[6] Orde Browne, 1, 1938, maps.

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rules of land tenure are firstly to prevent, as far as possible, such conflicts and embarrassments from arising, and secondly, to facilitate their resolution when aroused. If, then, there is no danger of conflict or embarrassment neither is there a need for any rule at all. A Nyakyusa doctor wandering in the uncultivated bush looking for medicines cannot harm any man's interest, cannot hurt any man's feelings, and he is therefore free to gather what and where he will. 311

In many of its uses, however, land is scarce and so leads men into competition for it. When, in any society, land, or some other material of action, is scarce, we say that it has economic value; and whenever anything has economic value then, of necessity, its use *must* always be effectively limited and defined by rules of law or of morality or by convention, for only by such limitations of human action can anarchy be kept at bay and ordered human society continue to exist.

The scarcity or economic value of land is, in most of the Nyakyusa chiefdoms, more a matter of quality than of mere quantity. In some few chiefdoms there is, however, already threatening an actual lack of arable land, and it is almost certain that there will in time be a general shortage. The natural increase of population is to some extent counterbalanced by ever-increasing emigration into neighbouring, less densely populated districts; but rapidly changing economic and technical conditions will of themselves, in all probability, bring about a shortage of land. Ploughs (over 100 of them) are already in use and are multiplying many times over the area which one man can cultivate, while the recent development of an external market for surplus food is stimulating many men to greater effort even with the hoe. An area amply sufficient, with primitive subsistence agriculture, for about 100,000 persons may well prove quite insufficient when ploughs are employed and when to the 100,000 mouths are added, through the medium of the market, many thousand more. Rungwe District is already one of the main sources not only of labour but also of food for the nearby Lupa gold fields, while its rapidly increasing crop of Native-grown coffee now finds its way to Europe. In 1936 produce to the value of some £24,000[1] was sold by this district to the outside world. 311 241 [167] [439]

At the moment, however, there is no general shortage of land. It is the *best* ground which is scarce, not land as such. The best building sites, the best plots of arable ground and the best pastures have economic value and their use is precisely defined and limited in the Nyakyusa system of land-tenure. 311

[1] Figure estimated for the whole district (Nyakyusa, Ndali and Lambya, about 150,000 persons in all) on the basis of information supplied by the courtesy of the Agricultural Office, Tukuyu.

6:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1939 FN17 Ngonde FN17

Nyakyusa chiefs afterwards conquered, but which is still known as "Mu-Ngonde") was certainly included in it. And the men of Ngonde also claim that Musomba of the Ndali hills, and Mujombe and others in the present Northern Rhodesia were nobles of the Kyungu and sent him tribute. 173 565 643

How much secular power the Kyungus and nobles of Ngonde then had we cannot know; but, as in the later period it can be proved to have been more effective in the plain near Mbande than in the hills, it is not unreasonable to suppose that so it was in the early period also.

Trade with the outer world there was, so legend says, from the first, and this trade went north. The present Kyungu told us: "The Kyungus used to send ivory to the coast, they sent men over the hills of the Ndali; the ivory that they took from Simbobwe went that way. And the men used to come back with cloths and iron goods and white crockery. This I heard from Mwakalengula who died as a very, very old man in the year 1900 or perhaps it was 1901." 173 439

In later times the central power of the Kyungu and the nobles of Ngonde can be proved to have rested on the twin bases of religious faith and the control of great wealth; as these two conditions seem both to have been present in the early period we can assert with some confidence that then also they were the real bases of the central power. 173 565 643

(b) *A TURNING POINT.*

"Kyungu Magemo had a sister who was married to Katenga, one of the nobles of Ngonde. And one day when the other nobles of Ngonde went to Ngana (a district of Ngonde) to fish—for fish were plentiful in Ngana—this woman followed them, and there she married Mwakasekele a man of Ngana. So the nobles returned and told Magemo that his sister had been taken to wife in Ngana, and all he said was, 'very well.' Later she bore a son to Mwakasekele and Kyungu Magemo named him Kasyombe." 173 643

Now Magemo himself when he died left only one son, Mwangonde, and he had only survived by an accident. Mwangonde's mother came from Butambo (in the present Northern Rhodesia) and was a distant relative of Mulwa, another noble of Ngonde. Her delivery was unexpected and took place in the house of one of Mulwa's near kinsmen So Mulwa hid her and the child, and then sent her away to Butambo. The other nobles of Ngonde accused him of having done so and were angry, for they wished to kill the child if it were a boy. Mulwa denied his action, but afterwards they heard that the child was a boy and alive. Now but for Mulwa the direct line of the Kyungus would have died out,

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(c) *THE MIDDLE KYUNGUS: CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE.*

When Kasyombe died Mwenengubwe succeeded, for Mwangonde, though now grown up, was still living in Butambo. Mwenengubwe was the eldest of those sons whom Kasyombe had begotten on the wives of Magemo, and he began that process of gradual emergence from religious seclusion which the present Kyungu has completed. The early Kyungus had all lived on the top of Mbande, cut off from the outside world not only by their enclosure but also by the steep sides of the hill; Mwenengubwe and his successors lived in the plain at its foot, by the Lukulu River. This change appears to have been connected with the unsuccessful effort of the chiefs of Ngana to control the killing of the Kyungus. Three of the present nobles of Ngonde took me up Mbande and explained on the way: "At first all the Kyungus were installed on the summit of the hill, but Mwenengubwe came down to the valley; Kasyombe was the last to live on the summit. The Kyungus came down to the valley because they were afraid to live on the hill, they thought that no Kyungu ever lived long on Mbande, always they died quite soon. And so, after Mwenengubwe had come down from the hill, they installed his successors in the valley, in the house of the Kyungu." But still they lived at Mbande in the midst of the nobles of Ngonde, and still their houses were surrounded with an enclosure that only the nobles of Ngonde might freely enter.

On the death of Mwenengubwe, Mwangonde succeeded.[1] From now onwards the traditions of Ngonde are full of warfare, civil and tribal; but more important than the wars themselves are the accompanying constitutional and commercial changes of which we get occasional glimpses.

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About this time the direction of the trade in ivory changed. The present Kyungu told us: "Later, after the first Kyungus, Mwangonde and his successors used to exchange the ivory with Marabi who came from across the lake; the men of Mwela rowed them across. These traders brought cloths, red and white and dark cloths. But when the first Kyungu arrived in Ngonde there was no trade-route across the lake at all." And one of the Kyungus about this time is said to have "struck the lake and walked over to Mwela to marry a woman, Mapunda." And the present Kyungu told us that, besides the trade with these Marabi, there had also been trade with the men of Mwela

[1] "When Kasyombe died Mwenengubwe inherited the position of Kyungu. Mwangonde refused it and continued living with his mother's family in Butambo. But the nobles discussed together and decided it was not fitting that Mwangonde should live in another country and they went to invite him back. He agreed to come; at first he only paid a short visit to Ngonde and went back again, but the second time he came and stayed. So when Mwenengubwe died they set Mwangonde on Mbande."

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themselves,. and with the Kisi. With the people of Mwela they exchanged canoes for hoes. And from the Kisi also they got hoes, which the Kisi in their turn had got in exchange from the Kinga.

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Then, during the reigns of Mwangonde and his successors "the sons of the Kyungu" began more and more to displace the territorial nobles as rulers of the various districts of the Ngonde plain. They became hereditary chiefs (*awanyafyale*), each of whom was succeeded by two or more sons, who divided his country and tried to extend it. And thus the number of ruling chiefs now began to increase at a great rate. Each of the territorial nobles, on the other hand, was only succeeded by a single heir. Houses of chiefs were set up and a new hierarchy appeared, for the senior chief in each house ranked as the "father" of his juniors. The name of the founder of each house was preserved as a hereditary title borne by each head of that house in turn. Thus to-day we find in the Ngonde plain the house of the Katambas, (or Mwenitetes),[1] the house of the Kalongas, the house of the Mwakasungulas and so on, and, among the chiefs of Ngana, the house of the Mwafongos, the house of the Mwenengubwes, the house of the Kalombos, the house of the Kilupulas and so on. The heads of these houses were the great chiefs of Ngonde, subordinate to the Kyungu and each with a number of junior chiefs traditionally subordinate to him. Most of these great titles can be traced back to some important son either of Mwangonde or of Kasyombe; but in some cases junior branches also have acquired sufficient importance to be distinguished by hereditary titles which are borne by their heads[2]. Whenever the bearer of one of these great titles became the Kyungu, his old title was at once taken by a successor in his house.

The chiefs supplanted the territorial nobles and took their subjects for their own in this way: "A great many territorial nobles have lost their power, for the Kyungus were in the habit of sending their sons to build with them in their countries. A Kyungu would send one of his sons (i.e. a chief) to a certain noble saying 'I send this your son to build with you, his father'—for the nobles were called 'father' by the sons of the Kyungu—, so the noble would welcome him. But in after years the people would give their affection to the son of the Kyungu and the noble would lose his power. And yet, even so, in the old days the two of them, chief and noble, would remain on friendly terms." ....
"Some of the nobles lost their power through the cunning of the chiefs. For example the noble Mwenifumbo used to have a country of his own,

[1] This house, as we have seen, dates from the early period.
[2] The first Maleme, for instance, was a son of Mwakasungula, the first Kajuni of Mwenengubwe.

[text continues on p. 21]

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ordinary custom of hoeing parties which is still followed by every chief and commoner in this whole area. Every man, two or three times a year, invites his neighbours to hoe for him and rewards them with a beer-drink in the evening. Where the hoeing of the Kyungu's public gardens differed from this custom was in the religious sanction behind it and in its political organization.

After the local chiefs had finished the *milasa* for the Kyungu they would next return and hoe a small garden for their great chief who had led them to Mbande. But in this the territorial nobles took no part. Such gardens were not called *milasa* and there was no distinction made between them and the great chief's private ones. For this custom also there was a moral sanction; for the great chiefs, we remember, also participated in divinity. "If his people forgot to hoe for Mwakasungula then perhaps a little local epidemic of some kind would break out and the diviners, when questioned, would attribute it to their forgetfulness. Or perhaps a prophetic fit would fall on some one and he would tell them to go and hoe (or they would rue it!)"

And, still lower in the hierarchy, among a group of chiefs who were half-brothers, the senior chief used sometimes to summon his juniors to bring their men and hoe; but "their acquiescence depended on their friendship for him"; it seems to have had no effective moral sanction.

The private gardens of the Kyungu were traditionally very small indeed, for the constant income of food from the plain made them all but unnecessary. Such as they were, they were worked by the people of Mbande, i.e. the nobles of Ngonde and their followers. The wives of the Kyungu lived like ladies and had all the normal work of a woman, including weeding, done for them.

The income of the Kyungu in slaves and cattle cannot be understood save in the context of judicial procedure and warfare with which we have not yet dealt[1].

The income of Mbande reached others besides the Kyungu and his wives. We have already seen how the nobles of Ngonde took their share of the food which was brought in; and some of it they gave to their messengers, the *nalukata*. Neither the nobles of Ngonde nor the messengers, according to the present Kyungu, used to have any large gardens of their own; they also were maintained at the public expense. And the nobles of Ngonde shared also in the proceeds of the ivory.

With the exception of a pile of tusks upon which the Kyungu slept, most of the ivory which reached Mbande, from the time of Mwangonde

[1] *Vide infra* sections 5 and 6.

6:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1939 FN17 Ngonde FN17

until the settlement of the Arabs and Europeans in Ngonde, was exchanged "for cloths and rings" with the *Langwani* (i.e. Arab or half-caste) traders, who regularly crossed the lake from Mwela.

Now the Kyungus of Mbande when compared with their divine-cousins the Lwembes of Lubaga, were fortunate in their geographical position. The conditions which kept them in contact with a market in the early period are beyond our knowledge, we only know the bare fact. But with the opening of the trade route from the east the greater accessibility of Mbande is at once obvious. Mbande is only eight miles from the shores of the lake, Lubaga is forty. Moreover the plain between Lubaga and the lake was occupied in this middle period by Nyakyusa chiefs only distantly related to the Lwembe. Our evidence suggests that, in any case, the traders from Mwela did not reach the north end of the lake in their travels till some time after reaching Ngonde. And it is undoubted that when they did so they traded with the chiefs on the shore one by one and never journeyed inland to Lubaga. To Lubaga the lake shore chiefs sent cows to beg for rain and health, but they sent no ivory; from Lubaga they believed they received their rain and health; but it was from the traders direct that they got the coveted cloth. Ivory was but dry bones without a market, so that the Lwembes had no inducement to claim it.

In Ngonde the Lungwani traders bought relatively little ivory from others save the Kyungu; he alone held large stocks and to him they came first. They gave him red, white and dark cloths and rings also in exchange for the tusks, eating and drinking at his expense during their stay.

Some of the cloths and rings were at once given by him to the nobles of Ngonde, on each occasion that the traders came; others were used as clothes by himself and his household; others were stored for future gifts; while still others he exchanged, either for hoes with the men of Mwela and the Kisi, or with his own people for ivory or slaves.

Polygyny and a differential bride-price were important sources of wealth for all the rulers of Ngonde. The numbers of cattle given to great-commoners, nobles or chiefs at the marriages of their daughters were greater than the numbers given to ordinary men. This was a matter of prestige. Moreover girls married younger than boys, so that all fathers usually had an interval between receiving cattle at the marriages of their daughters and giving them away again at the marriages of their sons; during this interval the cattle increased and the increment accrued to them. Now chiefs, nobles and great-commoners usually gave away more cattle at the marriages of their sons than did ordinary men; this again was a matter of prestige. But it did not alter the fact that greater numbers of cattle than usual passed though their hands; and

6:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1939 FN17 Ngonde FN17

and beer; their position depended upon doing so. Up and down the hierarchy the stream of wealth travelled and this stream, in its ebb and flow, was the lifeblood of the old constitution.

(c) *THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE IVORY TRADE.*

Now it was the scarce and valuable cloths derived from the ivory trade which enabled Mbande to bind the subordinate chiefs and nobles to it in secular matters. Lubaga, lacking this wealth, had no such secular power. But it is very easy to exaggerate the secular power which Mbande had. Personal loyalty to the Kyungu and the great chiefs was enforced throughout Ngonde,[1] the nobles of Ngonde participated in the selection of territorial nobles and great chiefs,[2] tribal war was organized from Mbande,[3] but that was all. In everyday life the sovereignty of the local rulers was scarcely limited. Civil war was endemic in Ngonde,[4] and secular justice had no central organization[5].

The central power of Mbande rested on the combination of divine kingship with wealth derived from the ivory-trade. But both in religious and economic matters there was a very high degree of local autonomy. We have already discussed the local autonomy in religion[6] and must now discuss it in the economic sphere.

The economic relations of men in the middle period of Ngonde's history were largely confined to the little local groups of chiefdom and fief. Subsistence agriculture was practised by each family, with the assistance of village neighbours and of a few friends and relatives who normally lived in the same chiefdom or fief. Marriage, with all the exchanges of cattle and food which marriage involved, was usually a local matter also; men only occasionally went beyond the chiefdom or the fief for their wives; while of the few specialised craftmen, such as smiths, a representative was usually to be found in each such local group. Economic links between the local groups existed: men moved from one chiefdom or fief to another leaving relatives behind, some marriages took place across the local boundaries, famous craftmen or doctors attracted clients from far afield. But these links were far fewer in number than those which obtained between the members of each separate local group.

And the ivory trade added little to the economic links between the local groups. It involved no tribal organization of elephant hunts, or anything of the kind; it touched the common people only slightly. Commoners and chiefs however did occasionally exchange tusks either

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[1] *Vide infra* 5 (a)
[2] *Vide infra* 5 (b)
[3] *Vide infra* 6 (b)
[4] *Vide infra* 6 (a)
[5] *Vide infra* 5 (c)
[6] *Vide supra* 3

6:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1939 FN17 Ngonde FN17

439 direct with the ivory traders or with the Kyungu, for cloths or cattle or slaves. And groups of chiefdoms and fiefs co-operated in hoeing the *milasa*.

Nor did the ivory trade enter very deeply into the economic relations of [291] the local rulers with their subjects. The common people usually dressed in exiguous pieces of bark cloth or of a coarse cloth which they manufactured themselves from a kind of cotton; the scarce imported cloths, which came through Mbande, were normally used by chiefs and nobles only. They added to the prestige of the chiefs and nobles by linking them visibly with the opulence of Mbande, but did not much increase their own subjects' economic dependence on them. Though here again we must note the occasional exchanges of ivory and other wealth between [652] commoners and chiefs or nobles. The important economic links between local rulers and their subjects were determined, on the one hand, by the differential bride-price, by polygyny and by their power of requisitioning food, and, on the other hand, by their position as chief hosts to their people.

The ivory-trade, in fact, enabled Mbande to bind the local rulers to it in a kind of permanent hierarchical alliance, but neither the constitution of the local groups nor their autonomy in relation to one another was very much affected thereby.

5. *LEGAL ELEMENTS (MIDDLE PERIOD).*

000 We now come to a third element of the central power of Mbande, the traditional part which it played in the maintenance of law. We will take this topic in two parts: first, the ways in which Mbande maintained its own authority and that of its subordinates, and, second, the part played by Mbande and those lesser authorities in maintaining the common law of Ngonde.

(a). *CONSTITUTIONAL LAW: TREASON ETC.*

687 Treason against the Kyungu was summarily punished with little or
567 no legal argument. The commonest form of treason seems to have been too near an approach to one of his wives. We remember that his wives were very closely guarded from all men, for their adultery might magically bring sickness on him, and if he fell ill then the whole land was magically endangered. One side of the hill Mbande is precipitous, and over this cliff (*Iponga*) all traitors were thrown, including such as had looked on his wives naked; while many members of the traitors' families were subsequently enslaved.

"If a man had looked on the wives of the Kyungu bathing, he himself would be killed by being thrown over the cliff and all his

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
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173 643 rulers were not of the royal blood but 'nobles' (*amakembera*), descendants of the five leading men who had arrived with the Kyungu, of those he found already occupying the country, and of those who arrived after him. Later the slaughter of the Kyungu's [697] sons ceased, and as they grew up they were established as subordinate chiefs through his territories, gradually taking over power from the commoners who had previously ruled, by a process familiar in other parts of Africa.[1] But the 'nobles' retained considerable power. At Lubaga the descendants of the two men who had arrived with the first Lwembe, and of some of those who were there before him, became priests, and priests only; in Ngonde those of similar origin developed secular, as well as ritual, functions.

The reasons why the office of Kyungu developed into a paramount chieftainship, and that of the Lwembe did not, have been examined in a previous publication,[2] and may therefore be dealt with very briefly here. The most important factor was that [439] the Kyungu exported ivory and amassed wealth which was used [556] to bind territorial rulers to him, while the Lwembe remained cut off from the outside world and did not trade at all. The geographical situation largely accounts for this. The ivory of Ngonde first went north, and later south-east, across the Lake, and Mbande was well situated for both routes. It lies eight miles from the Lake and close to a defile which leads from the lake-shore plain to an open table-land stretching north to Lake Tanganyika, the very route which engineers later selected for the Stevenson road. Lubaga, on the other hand, is forty miles from the Lake and the only routes northward lay over broken country and passes 8,000 feet high. Giraud remarks in his journal that the Nyakyusa were the only people he had come across among whom the chiefs did not claim at least one tusk of every elephant killed;[3] they did not claim it, for they had no use for the ivory; but the Kyungu's right to a tusk from every elephant killed was enforced.

The growth of a paramount chieftainship in Ngonde was slow. The early Kyungus lived within an enclosure on Mbande to which only their personal servants and the nobles of Ngonde had

[113] [1] cf. M. Hunter, *Reaction to Conquest*, p. 380; H. Kuper, *An African Aristocracy*, pp. 13-14; I. Schapera, in *African Political Systems* (edited Fortes and Evans-Pritchard), pp. 60-1.

[2] Godfrey Wilson, *The Constitution of Ngonde*, Rhodes-Livingstone Papers No. 3 (1939).

[3] V. Giraud, *Les Lacs d'Afrique Equatoriale* (1890), p. 186.

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
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a missionary, was warned by her servants before Godfrey Wilson's arrival in her neighbourhood 'not to go out at night as there were *abazungubala* about, sent by the Government to kill people and take their blood', and women going for firewood made a long detour to avoid his camp. One was overheard asking when she caught sight of him: 'Is that the man who kills people?' Angombwike explained that, since all really strong Nyakyusa medicines contained human blood, it was argued that European medicines, which were so powerful, must contain it also. 'They follow their own customs.'

It seems obvious to the Nyakyusa that Europeans must have strong medicines because their confidence and success are so great. Moreover, it is held (in theory) that they are immune to attacks from witchcraft. X, who had been a clerk and lost his job, and was bitter, expanded on this:

> People say that Europeans have *isyifutlo* (*vide* p. 58), see they are brave, they do not fear, if someone seizes a spear they do not fear, they just come to him, they are very brave. And also the witches say that they are unable to choke Europeans. When we hear people boasting of their mystical power (*amasye*) we always say to them: 'But if that is so, go and choke a European, show us!' Then they always say, 'Oh no, we can't do that, when we go to a European house at night we find it all lighted up and flaming, we can't get near them.' I think this is the power of the Holy Spirit which you Europeans have.

He came of a well-known family of doctors and perhaps spoke from first-hand knowledge. He just laughed at the suggestion that the light might come from lamps. But the fact that Europeans were held to be immune did not prevent our servants and friends attributing our recurring attacks of malaria to witchcraft.

(*c*) DOCTORS

Among the Nyakyusa, as perhaps in every society, the doctors with the greatest reputation are those at a distance, and a high proportion of the practitioners in the country are of foreign lineages, their fathers, or grandfathers, or great-grandfathers having come in, bringing medicines with them, and begun to practice. In fact, we were assured that there were *no* Nyakyusa doctors who were famous, they were all Sangu, or Kinga, or Kisi, or from Ngonde or Misuku in Nyasaland, but detailed investigation proved this to be false. The trade in medicines from a distance is a very old one and continues today. As we have seen,

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
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791 *isyi/wila* comes from west of Ngonde, or east of the Kinga; *mwaf* 'came from Nyasaland'; medicine for fertility of the fields from Misuku which is rich in food; war medicine from the Sangu and Kinga. Whether neighbouring people get medicines from Bu-Nyakyusa we do not know—no one ever suggested it, but it is likely that they do.

[177] Since foreign doctors and medicines have the highest reputation new treatments are welcomed. This is where the practice of medicines differs radically from the rituals directed to the shades in which the charter is tradition, and any deviation must be justified. But the willingness to accept something new did not lead to any systematic experiment, or any regard for experiment as such.

791 278 Anyone who chooses, and can pay the fees, can become a doctor by apprenticing himself to a practitioner of repute, but it is very noticeable that the majority of well-known doctors come from families of doctors, the medicines being passed down from one generation to the next and sometimes taught to wives as well. Lyandileko, who has often been quoted, was taught certain medicines by her husband, and had a large practice. The diviners we knew were all men, but many women know a number of medicines. Once in practice, a doctor may add to his knowledge by buying a medicine from a fellow practitioner or exchanging medicines with him. One doctor we knew had paid two bulls for the secret of his protective medicine (*umlata gwe ipiago*). The teaching includes what plants or other ingredients to collect and how to 'cook' them, i.e. what to mix together and what quantities to use. As elsewhere in Africa, it is the material substance, usually vegetable, which is held to be important in any treatment. The spell—the words addressed to the medicine—is of little significance except that when vengeance magic is prepared the man on whose behalf it is done may say the name of his enemy (if he knows his identity) and state his own innocence in a phrase like the following: 'Return this medicine, thou Kyala, I have done no wrong whatsoever to cause me to be killed; if he says he will kill me let him die.'

791 793 The doctor (*isyanga*) who 'knows medicines' is distinguished from the priest or officiant (*usyanga*) who knows how to conduct a ritual directed to the shades or heroes. The *usyanga* uses medicines in celebrating rituals, and he or she may be able to collect and prepare plants himself, but he sometimes has to apply to a doctor

10:Gulliver E-5 (1954-1955) 1958 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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well covered with vegetation and with so reliable and plentiful a rainfall, yet, of course, the actual pasturage available is very considerably less as so much of the land is taken for arable and building purposes. There is in practice a most acute shortage of grazing land everywhere, except in certain parts of the north-west Highlands (Ukukwe). This shortage is most critical during the wet season, for at other times of the year the herds are able to graze over the arable fields, where herbage grows exceptionally rapidly after harvest as a result of the high rainfall.

Traditionally, each village had a roughly demarcated area of common pasturage which was not, and could not be, used for arable purposes. With the increased demand for arable land, this commonage has almost everywhere in the Lake Plains been gradually whittled away for permanent arable holdings. Headmen who control these pastures, and many of their chiefs too, are much worried about this process, about the break with tradition and the modern pastoral difficulties; but arable needs are given priority over grazing and the practice continues. In the flood plains, the higher-density regions, common pasturage has by now almost disappeared altogether. The little which remains is largely unusable for cultivation, consisting of infertile or badly drained areas – often the sandy, coastal strips covered with dense thicket and tall sedges which provide very little useful grazing. During the dry season, after the paddy harvest, the situation is fair, but during the cultivation season pasturage is entirely inadequate, and in addition the cattle are compelled to live and graze in extremely arduous conditions of standing water, mud, mosquitoes and flies. They do not obtain enough food then and they lose condition badly. There are many deaths from exhaustion, near-starvation and disease, and this affects the immature stock particularly. Only by obstinate tenacity on the part of both man and beast can the herds be retained at all. There is no tradition of stall-feeding and so far the Nyakyusa have refused to adopt this measure of alleviation.

Yet, as the Nyakyusa are quick to point out, each family has only a few cattle. Most families have a cow or two, and the average is only about two to three head per family – *cf.* Table VI, page 34. Owners of large herds are relatively few, and herds of more than ten cattle in a single family are very uncommon. Although the cattle population is too great for the pasture resources now available, yet the animals are fairly evenly and thinly distributed amongst the dense human population. Goats and sheep are few – about 600 altogether – in the Lake Plains and of no significance. It is important to note that here we do not have a situation of large herds which might be reduced by some form of culling.

Cattle are held in high esteem by all Nyakyusa as a source of valued milk for the daily diet, as the means to marriage (in bridewealth), as a store of capital, as a symbol of prestige and as an essential element in important ceremonial activity. This kind of value system needs no emphasis here as it is common to much of Eastern Africa, but it may be noted that one of the principle uses of the large sums of money saved from wages in mining employment (labour migration)[1] and from the profits of cash-cropping at home is in the purchase of cattle. It is thought that money is best invested, saved and used in that way, once immediate material needs have been met.

Even with the high proportion of deaths from disease and the appalling conditions of the wet season, there are indications that the numbers of cattle are not decreasing and there may well be local increases. Apart from natural increase, there is fairly heavy buying from the Ndali people to the north-west in Rungwe District, and also from farther afield in Northern Nyasaland, and in Nyamwanga and Fipa tribal areas (albeit illicitly).

1. During the course of my earlier labour migration enquiries men would usually estimate their savings for me, when completing routine questionnaires, by the number of cattle they could buy.

243 and Mapiko, although very little of these is sold. Ploughs have been introduced into the area as it is flat and the total number in use in 1942 is about 400. The first ploughing is carried out in June or July when the ground is still wet, and the second ploughing in October to February. Planting, which is all broadcast, is carried out in November to the middle of March and the harvesting is done in May to September.

256 A first mill was erected at Ipyana on the lake shore in 1942 with a capacity of 9 tons of rice in 15 hours. Another is now on its way from India with a capacity of 14 tons of rice in 15 hours and should be erected some time in 1944.

248 A small acreage of cotton is also sown along the Songwe River boundary, which borders on Nyasaland, with seed obtained from that Colony. Conditions, however, are not suitable on the remainder of the lake shore and expansion is not encouraged.

241 A list of exports from the district with approximate weights for 1942 is appended:—
439

Article	Weight in tons
	Tons
Mixed beans	350
Coffee	50
Groundnuts	50
Maize	1,500
Onions	20
European potatoes	200
Rice	1,800
Vegetables	40
Fruit	100
Banana flour	300
Cassava flour	50
Finger millet	150
Tea (European produce)	215
Total ..	4,725

Land Tenure and Economics of the People

423 In theory all land belongs to the chiefs or sub-chiefs, but in practice once a man has cultivated a plot, that plot belongs to him until he leaves the area in which he lives. If he leaves, the land reverts to the chief or sub-chief and may be given by him through his headman or elder to anyone in his area who is short of land or to a newcomer who wants a plot. Should a man go away and return after a long period and ask for a plot, he is bound to be given one but not necessarily the plot he had before he left. Newcomers are welcomed and are given land, as the amount of tax collected in an area is an indication of the importance of a chief.

554 609 651

233 Stock grazing is a problem which is coming more and more to the fore. The number of

N 233 cattle in the district in the 1941 census was about 2.3 head per taxpayer or 55 head per N [184 square mile. Certain land is set aside each year for grazing, where stock is not able to interfere with the produce plots. Compensation 615] for trespass of cattle on cultivated land is only paid among people of the lake shore.

N 656 Parts of the land to the west of Tukuyu have been badly eroded by cultivation and 134 over-grazing, and it is only since 1935 that 185 anti-erosion rules have been made to check 242 the tendency for bad cultivation. Since they were brought in, however, the majority of the tribe have become very keen on seeing the effect that well-controlled cultivation has on crops. The following are the Native Authority Rules concerning anti-erosion:—

"Throughout the Rungwa District all natives shall follow orders regarding cultivation designed to prevent soil erosion as demonstrated and enjoined by the Agricultural Officer.

(*a*) All ridges and terraces shall be contoured and not follow the slope of the hill.

(*b*) In the case of cultivation done on the flat and not on ridges or terraces, a large ridge and ditch shall be dug at the top of the plot to remain permanently and be repaired from time to time."

N ● 439 The Wanyakyusa have never been dependant on outside sources for any of their food, N [135] but in their own territory there is no iron for making hoes nor clay for making earthenware pots. The former they were accustomed to get from Ukinga, on the eastern boundary of the district in the Livingstone mountains, and the pots were, and are still, made only by about 500 members of the Wakisi tribe living in a village on the lake shore at the extreme south-K 439 western point of the district. The Wakisi are 101 really of Ukinga origin and inhabit the eastern, northern and western shores of Lake Nyasa. They grow no food except cassava, and that only recently, and apart from the one village that makes the pots, their only work is as paddlers of canoes and fishermen. Most of their fish and pots are exchanged for food.

N 443 Since the Tukuyu District is so thickly populated and the inhabitants concentrated, it has been found necessary to create produce markets at comparatively short distances. N Transport from these markets, during war-438 time, has become difficult. The natural outlet 316 for Tukuyu native foodstuffs is the Lupa Goldfields, which lie about 100 miles to the

(*Received for publication*

14: Lehmann E-5 (1939)1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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233 343 462 [413] the women, but the men are responsible for keeping the floor of the stable in good repair. For this purpose a specific tool is used, called *ukutoba indobelu*. It is round on top, flattened on the lower side and provided with a handle.

224 5. *Hunting.* Sometimes the Nyakyusa go out to hunt, but nowadays hunting is much more restricted than in former times as described e. g by Mackenzie in his book: "The spirit-ridden Konde" (London 1925). This record, however, deals mostly with the Ngonde of the environment of Karonga whose interesting social history was unsurpassably revealed to us by Mr. Godfrey Wilson's treatise: "The Constitution of Ngonde" (The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, Number Three. Livingstone, [656] Northern Rhodesia 1939.) Hunting in the Nyakyusa country is now curtailed by governmental regulations. Hunting *(ukufuema)*, therefore, does not supply an essential part of the food requirements of the [136] natives. The colobus apes on the slopes of the Rungwe volcano and the [656] Poroto Mountains are sometimes killed for their attractive black and white skins, but fortunately this is now forbidden by the government. ● [439] Otherwise these apes would be exterminated in quite a short time, since the skins of these apes are in great demand with some Europeans for rugs and covers. Naturally, the hunting of lions and especially of leopards, which even nowadays still cause great damage, is not restricted.

224 231 The hunting of game for food is often done with dogs *(imbwa)* which have small bells *(inyesi)* on collars round their necks. Thereby the hunter *(umfuemi)* always knows the whereabouts of his dog. The chase is continued till the dog or dogs are exhausted. The object of the hunt *(umfuemu)* is generally a small type of antelope *(akasya)*, e. g. in the [656] environment of Mwakalele, as I was instructed. The usual time for hunting is the cooler season, but to-day a permit of the government is also required.

223 Catching birds by means of traps *(untegu*, pl. *imitegu)* is still common in the Nyakyusa area. I have also seen such traps constructed by means of the flicking-gallow's principle also in the vicinity of Utengule among the Safwa. The herd boys especially set traps to catch quails *(imbesi)* when the *malesi* (millet) harvest is over. Sometimes smaller birds are also coursed until they are exhausted and then slain. One day I found a stick vertically put on the soil and with a triangle made of smaller sticks at its top. The horizontal part of which was smeared with an adhesive substance. I was told that this was a trap for birds,

very substantial, the main meal being taken in the evening shortly before sunset.

8. Manufacture. The pot for cooking *(indeku)* is placed on three stones which form the hearth *(ikipembero,* hearth stones). The flat bowl made of clay used for the needs of the kitchen is called *ulwangabia* and a pig pot used for storing water *ingumbe*. The pots of clay are manufactured by Kissi women because in their land on the north-eastern shores of Lake Nyassa the best clay is found. In the eastern part of the Nyakyusa country adjacent to Kissi land the women visit the pottery markets of the Kissi, but to the remoter villages, e. g. around the Rungwe volcano the pottery is brought by Kissi men. In this case, owing to the great distance from the Kissi-Land the men carry the loads of eight to ten pots on their head between split poles of bamboo. The Kissi pots I saw in the Rungwe Station were ornamented in a rough way with red ochre and seemed only slightly baked. The hearth stones, however, are made by the Nyakyusa women themselves as I was able to observe near Rutenganio, where widows manufactured them for sale.

In many villages of the Nyakyusa I could watch basket-making. This I saw being done by men. In the chief's hut in Katumba I had the opportunity to admire a great number of very big baskets *(ifituba)* for storing grain, smeared with cow dung on the outside. The attractive closely wickered baskets, which are filled with *malesi* (millet) and then placed in water for a night in the process of beer-brewing were originally made by the Buanyi, but nowadays also the Nyakyusa are said to be skilled enough to weave them. I had no opportunity to observe it, but could acquire an excellent specimen of that wicker-work.

9. The Meal. At the beginning of each meal the hands are washed, including those of children. The men take their meal separately from the women. The wives only eat when their husbands have been satisfied. Boys under ten years eat with their mothers, but as soon as they begin to live in age-set villages, they eat together with their friends of their own age-set, as described in detail by Mr. G. Wilson in his "Introduction of Nyakyusa Society" (Bantu Studies X, p. 271). The head of the family likes to eat together with his friends.

Meat is eaten very seldom, but on special occasions such as marriages, death lamentations, christenings of Christianized natives, enormous quantities are devoured. *Inyama* (Swahili: *nyama)* is the Nyakyusa word for all sorts of meat, *ingombe* for that of cattle and *ingambaku* for that of oxen. Near Utengule I saw black pigs *(ingurwe,* pig)

291 301 belts are also worn by men, nowadays below the other clothing. More and more pieces of cotton with imprinted patterns have come into 291 vogue. They are worn around the lower part of the body or below the 177 shoulders or fastened about one of them, and are bought from Indian [439] shops. That this modern fashion, however, is something new in such places which are a little remoter from direct European influence was demonstrated to me when I came through a small village in the environment of Masoko. There by chance I met some young girls carrying a piece of cloth on the top of a long pole as if it were a banner. On enquiry I was told that this "banner" was nothing other than a [556 piece of cloth newly bought by a woman of that village and that it was 482] hoisted on a pole and carried in procession out of sheer joy that this woman had been able to buy it.

291 Menfolk throughout are fuller dressed, especially when they go dancing. The women, on the other hand, wear their ordinary dress also on such occasions. The dancing costume of the men — only the younger [292 men participate in dancing — consists of a sort of tight-jacket or 535] sweater and wide robes with coloured patterns. The hair is adorned [302 with feathers. At work the men mostly wear only loin cloths or shorts. 237] After work especially the older man wrap their bodies in blankets. It is very seldom nowadays to find even very old men still wearing the former national dress: a bundle of long grass in front and a smaller one behind tied to the waist by means of a string, as I found a man on a solitary spot near Rungwe Station. Little boys go altogether naked untill they are about three years of age. Little girls begin to wear a small *amabi* at an earlier age.

531 *13. Art.* One of the most interesting and striking features in the artistic endowment of the Nyakyusa are the decorations on the outer-walls of their huts. The latter are only painted, however, when the exterior of the framework of bamboo is mud covered, otherwise only the wooden doors (*ikifigo*, door) of the huts are painted. By no means every hut or house is painted, but only a limited number in each village, probably depending on the presence and industry of an artist as this art is as in other cases an individualistic one. One such artist was introduced to me in a village near Rutenganio. The ornaments consist in most cases of geometrical patterns in white and black, seldom in other colours, or they represent different sorts of animals, e. g. elephants, horses, cattle, snakes, etc. The richest designs I found in a long extended village on the right bank of the upper Kiwira. In an other case the names of the animals were written in Swahili below